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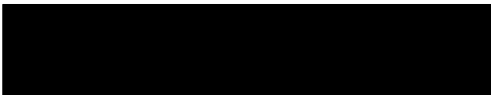












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O N  
CIVIL POWER  
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Consistent with  
The just LIBERTIES of Mankind, and  
Practicable under every Form of  
CIVIL GOVERNMENT.



---

*Render to Cæsar the Things which are Cæsar's, and to God the Things that are God's. Matth. xxii. 21.*  
*And all Things whatsoever ye would that Men should do to you, do ye even so to them. Matth. vii. 12.*

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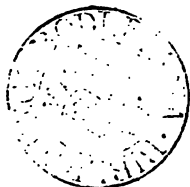
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232. f. 86.





T H E



P R E F A C E.

*THE Author of these Papers has frequently fallen into Company, wherein he had occasion to converse on the Topicks of Liberty and Power, both Civil and Religious: and having never settled and ranged his own Ideas and Reasonings thereupon in so exact and so harmonious an Order as he wish'd, he some Years ago set himself down to try if he could draw out his Thoughts into a regular Scheme, whereby he might better confirm or correct his own Conduct. He then apply'd him-*



iv      The P R E F A C E.

*self to a diligent and faithful Enquiry, without consulting other Authors, how far his own Reason would carry him toward the Establishment of any certain Religion in a Country or Nation, with a real desire to find a just Foundation for it, and try how far it could be brought into Form and Method.*

*And that he might secure himself the better from all Prejudices arising from present Establishments, he proposed to himself the Idea of a new erected State or Government of any kind whatsoever, laying aside all Prepossessions and Influences from the present Statutes and Customs of Men, and from the Appearances of Things in any Nation whatsoever, while he was engaged in these Speculations.*

*In matters of Practice he has always shewn himself on every Occasion a constant and sincere Friend and faithful Subject to our British Government ; and as he endeavors to*  
pay

## The PREFACE. v

*pay every one in Church and State their due, so he rejoices in the Protestant Succession to the Crown, and the illustrious Family which possesses it. And 'tis the desire of his Soul, that our present Rightful Sovereign King GEORGE the Second may have every Grace and Blessing pour'd down upon his Royal Person, to render him a long and glorious Instrument of Divine Mercy, to diffuse Blessings over the whole Protestant World, and particularly over the British Nation.*

*As the Author abhors the Thought of raising Seditions in the State under our happy Constitution from any Pretences either Civil or Religious, so he has no Views of disturbing any Character or Sett of Men in those just Privileges and Possessions which they enjoy by the Laws of the Land, for he possesses all his own Privileges by the same.*

*He is so well convinced of our happy Situation above and beyond almost every*

every other Nation under Heaven  
that he does not suppose it can be ei  
ther proper or lawful for any Person  
or Parties among us to attempt to shak  
the present Foundations of our Govern  
ment, in order to introduce in practic  
such a Scheme of Liberty in Matter  
of Conscience as these Papers describe in  
Speculation. Surely we value our Bri  
tish Constitution and the Privileges we  
enjoy, both Civil and Sacred, at too  
high a rate, ever to bring the Hazards  
and Loss of them into a Competition  
with any new Schemes or Models, which  
may be form'd by the warm Imagina  
tions or doubtful Reasonings of Men.

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## The PREFACE.      vii

*Author was very desirous to try how far his Reason could establish a National Religion, and adjust and limit the common Rights of Mankind, both Sacred and Civil, under this Establishment, in any Country whatsoever, wherein Religion may be profess'd in various Forms; and at the same time to maintain a perfect Consistence with all due Liberty of Conscience and support the just Authority of Supreme Rulers. What he had written on this Subject he was desired to publish as a Matter of further Enquiry to those who have thought much on this Argument; and perhaps it may serve to lead those who have never much thought of it into a more natural and easy Track of Thinking and Reasoning about it.*

*If any thing in this Essay shall prove so happy as to shed one peaceful and serene Beam of Light upon this dark and noisy Controversy, he hopes to find Forgiveness and Acceptance among*

viii      The P R E F A C E.

*mong his best Readers: and he would take pleasure in seeing such Light further improved by Minds better furnish'd, till it spread it self into a fair and glorious Day. Such a clear and harmonious View of these Subjects would do much toward the Security and Ease of Civil Government in any particular Occurrences, as well as toward the general Advantage of true Religion and the Support of just Liberty, which are three of the most valuable Privileges of Mankind and the choicest Blessings on this side Heaven.*



E R R A T A.

*Page 4. l. 22. read under some of. p. 7. l. 1. Government in general. p. 30. l. 2. Rights. p. 43. l. 7. meer natural. p. 95. l. 24. contrive and*



A NEW  
E S S A Y  
O N

*Civil Power in Things Sacred:*

OR  
An Enquiry after an ESTABLISHED  
RELIGION, consistent with the  
Just Liberties of Mankind, &c.

---

S E C T. I.

*Of the Nature and Ends of Civil Government,  
with the several Kinds of it, and its Extent  
to Religion.*

I. **T**HE Design of Civil Govern-  
ment is to secure the Persons,  
and Properties, and Peace of  
Mankind from the Invasions  
and the Injuries of their Neighbours: where-  
as if there were no such thing as Government

B

amongst

amongst Men, the Stronger would often make inroads upon the Peace and Possessions, the Liberties and the Lives of those that were weaker; and universal Confusion and Disorder, Mischiefs, Murthers, and ten thousand Miseries would overspread the face of the Earth.

II. In order to this general Good, *viz.* the Preservation of the Persons of Men with their Peace and Possessions, Mankind have been led by the Principles of Reason and Self-preservation to join themselves in distinct civil Societies; wherein as by a Compact, express'd or imply'd, every single Person is concern'd in the Welfare and Safety of all the rest, and all ingage their Assistance to defend any of the rest when their Peace or Possessions are invaded: so that by this means e-

and executing Laws for guarding their Persons and Properties, and for avenging their Injuries, into the hands of a single Person; and have obliged themselves to assist and support him in the due Exercise of this Authority. This is called *Kingly Government* or *Monarchy*: and where this Kingly Power has no Limitations, 'tis called *Absolute Monarchy* or *Sovereignty*.

(2.) Others have committed this same Power to the hands of a few Great Men or Nobles, Persons of Riches, or high Birth, or Power, or who are supposed to have superior Wisdom and Influence, who shall act in concert with one another to promote this End. This is called *Aristocracy*; especially when 'tis agreed that these great Men shall have their Heirs for their Successors, or shall have a Right to chuse their own Successors themselves; for then the People have divested themselves of all share in the Government.

(3.) A third sort have chosen a *Popular Government*, that is, where the People themselves meet and make Laws, and determine things of Importance by a common Vote or the Sentence of the major Part. But where the Society is so numerous, that the People cannot all meet together for this end, they



have parcell'd out themselves into many Districts, and chosen particular Persons to represent them in each District. Thus the People are said to act and govern themselves by these their *Representatives*, which are chosen new by the People as often as they think fit, or at annual or any stated Seasons which the People agree upon. This is called *Democracy*; and such a State is a proper *Republick* or *Commonwealth* in the strictest Sense.

(4.) There are other Societies again, which have made a Compound Government out of several of these; so the ancient *Roman* Government had the *Patres*, or *Patricii*, or *Senators* as their *Nobility*, and yet the *Plebeians* or common People had much share in the Government too by their power in chusing Officers, &c. The two *Consuls* were gene-

has his part and share in this Authority, and all agreed upon by the whole Community. This is called a *Mixed Monarchy*; and herein these three Estates of the Kingdom are supposed by mutual Assistances and mutual Limitations, not only to secure the common Peace, the Liberty and Welfare of the Nation from Enemies, but to guard it also from any dangerous Inroads that might be made upon it by any one of these three Powers themselves. Such is the happiness of *Great Britain* under the *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*.

IV. Here let it be noted, that whosoever has the power of making Laws, whether the *King*, the *Nobles*, or the *People*, or all these together, yet still the particular Execution of these Laws must be committed to many particular Magistrates or Officers, and they are usually fixed in a Subordination to one another, each of them fulfilling their several Posts throughout the Nation, in order to secure the general Peace.

V. In all these Forms of Government there is (as I hinted before) a *Compact* or Agreement between the *Governors* and *Governed*, express'd or imply'd, viz. that the *Governors* shall make it their Care and Business

ness to protect the People in their Lives, Liberties and Properties, by restraining or punishing those who injure, attack or assault them; and that the *Governed* submit to be punish'd if any of them are found guilty of these Practices: and also that they oblige themselves to pay such Homage, Honours, and Taxes, and yield such assistance to the Governors with their natural Powers, and their Money or Possessions, as may best obtain the great Ends of Government and the common Safety of the whole Society.

VI. For this purpose therefore, each Person by this Compact willingly abridges himself of some part of his original Liberty or Property, for the common Service of the Society of which he is a Member: and he engages himself with his Powers and Capa-

vine Right, yet all Government is originally from God, as he is the Author of Nature and Reason, and the God of Order and Justice: and every particular Government which is agreed upon by Men, so far as it retains the original Design of Government and faithfully preserves the Peace and Liberties of Mankind, ought to be submitted to, and is supported by the Authority of God; for it is God our Creator, who by the Light of Reason hath led Mankind into Civil Government, in order to their mutual Help and Preservation, and Peace.

In this sense it is that the two great Apostles *Peter* and *Paul* vindicate Civil Governors, and demand subjection to them from Christians. Rom. xiii. 1, &c. *Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers; for there is no Power but of God: the Powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation, i. e. are condemn'd; for Rulers are not a Terror to good Works, but to the Evil.* 1 Pet. ii. 13. *Submit yourselves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the King as supreme, or to Governors as to them who are sent by him, for the Punishment*



present Peace: nor do any of these Religions alter the Nature of Civil Government \*.

IX. Whereas if Civil Government did properly extend its Authority to Religion and the things of a future Happiness, no Government or Governors could be said to be appointed of God who are of a false Religion; and those only who know and teach, and promote the true Religion, and lead People in a right way to this future Happiness, could be of God's appointment; even as no Government extending to Civil Things can be said to be of God any further than it tends to promote the Civil Peace and Welfare. But if such an unreasonable and absurd Opinion as this were allow'd, *viz.* that the Appointment of true Religion belongs to the Civil Government, and there is but one true Religion, it would cut off Civil Government from being an Appointment of God among all the Nations of the Earth, and in all Ages of the World who had lost the true Religion; and all those Nations and Ages would be left to everlasting Anarchy and

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\* What Exception must be made for the *Jewish* Government, which was reveal'd to *Moses*, and was almost entirely Divine, shall be taken notice of in its due place.



World under all Governments, there are several things relating to our Civil Welfare which seem to require the Knowledge and Profession of a God, as these Four for instance: (1.) Witnessing in Controversies between two Parties. (2.) Information in criminal Cases. (3.) Security against secret Plots and Mischiefs from the People. (4.) Guarding against Oppression and Injustice of the Rulers. Let us consider each of these distinctly.

(1.) *The Case of Witnessing in Controversies between two contending Parties* requires the Acknowledgment of a God. Partly thro' the Ignorance of Men, and partly thro' their evil Inclinations, there will be Controversies frequently arising among the People, which must be determin'd by the Magistrate as a Judge of Right and Wrong. Now in order to search into the Truth of Things and the Right of particular Persons, it is not thought proper for the Magistrate usually to give credit to any Persons in their own Cause, when there is no concurrent Witness or Witnesses who declare the same thing.

And whereas Witnesses in many Disputes about Property may justly be suspected to warp from the Truth thro' private Influences,





Sect. 2. *and an Oath necessary.* 13

tices which tend to the Injury of Mankind, to the Ruin of all Government and Peace in a Nation, and yet they cannot perhaps be found out by the Eyes of Men soon enough to prevent the Mischief intended. Therefore the Belief and awful Sense of some all-knowing and over-ruling Power is needful to guard the evil Minds of Men against contriving these secret mischievous Practices, and the Profession of this Belief is a necessary Band of common Union and Safety.

(4.) The Acknowledgment of a God is necessary to guard Officers and Rulers from *oppressing the People*. Magistrates or Officers themselves may be easily inclined or tempted to neglect their Duty to the People, they may be bribed or frighten'd to pass wicked and unjust Judgments on Men, or to commit grievous Outrages and Acts of Violence upon them, if they have no Knowledge nor Belief of any superior Power who rules the World, and will punish Unfaithfulness, Injustice, Violence, Oppression and Falshood in all Ranks of his Creatures, whether High or Low, Rich or Poor.

II. In order therefore to a peaceful and successful Government, and to the Preservation of every Man in his Rights and Liberties,



should not or could not be found out by the search of Men.

And let it be observed that an *Oath* or an Appeal to God concerning Truth always implies in it, that we hope for a Blessing from this God upon our Fidelity if we speak the Truth; but that we imprecate the Vengeance of this God to fall upon us if we knowingly speak what is false, or act contrary to our Covenants or Engagements.

IV. I would fain have it observ'd also yet further, that it will be a much more effectual means to secure Mankind from Perjury, and from every degree of Falshood or Violation of an Oath, if the Oath were always administered by the Magistrate with the utmost Solemnity, and if the Words in which an Oath is form'd did express the Imprecation or Curse upon Falshood strongly and terribly, rather than if it express'd only the Blessing upon Truth and Faithfulness. And I have often thought that one Reason why there is so much Perjury in our Nation, and the Religion of an Oath has so little force upon the Consciences of Men, is because in our common Form, *So help me God*, the Blessing only is express'd, and the Curse is conceal'd and only imply'd at a distance; so that very  
few



Sect. 2. *and an Oath necessary.* 17

Oath, to fulfil their mutual Duties and Engagements of Protection and Obedience. In *Great Britain* the *Kings* are ingaged hereto by their *Coronation-Oath*, and the *People* by the *Oath of Allegiance*.

VI. It seems to me also very proper, that the outward Ceremony or Action which is used in Swearing, whether it be *lifting up the Hand*, or *kissing the Book*, &c. be publicly and authoritatively declared, not to be design'd as a *Religious Ceremony*, whereby we pay honour to God in the Act of Swearing, but that it is used only as a *Civil Gesture* or *Sign*, whereby we testify to the World that we do call God to witness to the Truth of what we speak. Hereby we shall secure many scrupulous Persons from the fear of taking an Oath with that Sign, lest they should thereby worship the Great God by Ceremonies invented by Men, which many good Subjects have thought unlawful. Or if they do still really scruple any particular Gesture or outward Sign, their Oath express'd in full and strong Language should be taken without it.

VII. If any particular Persons of known Sobriety should declare solemnly, that from a Principle of Conscience they scruple the

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Form

Form of an Oath or a solemn Appeal to God concerning the Truth, I think they are bound to give some proper satisfaction to the Government, that the Form of Words which they use in Witnessing, in Affirmations or Promises, &c. shall be deem'd in all respects equal to the Obligation of an Oath, *viz.* that their Consciences are equally bound by it before God, and that they shall incur the same Penalties among Men by the Violation hereof. This will relieve the People that are called *Quakers*, who will not take any Oath: and indeed without some such security no Person is fit to enjoy the Privileges of Civil Government, nor to be a Member of any State, who refuses to bind his Truth by an Oath.

VIII. And therefore if there be any Per-

Sect. 2, *and an Oath necessary.* 19

to his Neighbors and his Governors. For where one Party cannot or will not effectually oblige themselves to Allegiance and Fidelity, the other Party is not bound to afford them Civil Protection and the Privileges of the Government. How far the *Papists* are concern'd in this matter, let others judge: but I shall have occasion to mention this hereafter.

IX. I will not stay here to debate whether it be necessary for this purpose of *Swearing* for the Uses of Civil Government, that Men should acknowledge one single Almighty Power, *i. e.* the *true God* in opposition to all false Gods: for it is certain that some Governments, who worship'd Idols or false Gods, did believe that these invisible Powers would punish Injustice and Fraud among Men, and thereby did maintain and secure themselves, and made their Nation tolerably peaceful and flourishing for Years or Ages. But this may be asserted with abundant Evidence and Truth, that the common Acknowledgment of the One living and true God, both by Princes and People, by the Governors and Governed, is by far the best and surest Band of Government and the common Peace: but I shall have occasion to mention this also afterward.





that knows all things, and can punish Falshood and secret Crimes, is necessary to Government; there should be some Care taken by the Governors that the Knowledge of this superior invifible Power should be some way proclaimed or propagated amongst all the Subjects.

V. And tho' 'tis poffible (as was hinted before) that the belief and acknowledgment of feveral Gods, who are Avengers of Falshood and secret Mifchief, may be confiftent with the tolerable Welfare and Conveniences of the State, yet it muft be granted that *Polytheifm* or the Belief of many Gods hath fo much Abfurdity in it, and is fo contrary to the Light of Nature, that many Inconveniencies may arife from it; and therefore it is highly proper that the Exiftence and Perfections, the Providence and natural and moral Government of the One true God fhould be fome way made known thro' the Nation, together with the natural Veneration or Reverence that is due to him from all Men.

VI. Whether the Belief and Profeflion of the One true God fhould be impofed on all the Nation under any Penalty, I leave others to determine. I rather think it fhould not; and that for thefe three Reafons.



(2.) If the Members of any State or Government happen to be *Heathens* or *Idolaters*, or perhaps *Manichees*, who believe two Sovereign Principles or Powers, one of Good, t'other of Evil, &c. they may be invited and inclined to hearken to the Principles of true Religion and *Christianity*, if they are not utterly discouraged by finding Penalties laid upon their mistaken Belief; and they might by the same Gentleness continue their favourable Opinion of us, and grow up by degrees into Believers of the one true God. I might repeat the same thing concerning the *Heathen* Neighbors of such a State or Government, and Strangers who come to traffick with them. By seeing the Gentleness and Goodness of such a *Christian* Nation, they by degrees may attend to the Gospel of *Christ*, and be converted and become his Disciples, and may be allured to unite themselves and their Riches and Powers to support this Government. Penalties may make Dissemblers and Hypocrites, but good *Christians* are not to be made this way.

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doms, who by his Prophets gave *Jeroboam* ten Tribes, who cut off his Posterity and anointed *Jehu*, and again cut off his Posterity, and did what he pleased in altering the Successions of their Kings; *Jehovah* the holy one of *Israel* who was their God was also their King.



**VII.** As those Persons who are appointed by the Government to teach the People the Civil Rules or Statutes of the Land, should be well instructed in them themselves, that as far as possible the People might never be led into a mistake in Matters wherein their Lives and Properties are concern'd; so for the same reason, the Persons that should be appointed by the State to instruct the People in the Knowledge of a God and the Religion of an Oath, and to acquaint them with the Rules of these personal and social Vertues which are so necessary to good Government, I say, these Teachers should be themselves well instructed in the Knowledge of God, of Vice and Vertue, and be also to all appearance pious and vertuous and loyal, practising that Reverence to God, and those Civil and Moral Laws which they teach, that with more success they may instruct the People in these things which are of so much importance to their Civil Welfare and the Preservation of the Government.

**VIII.** As Taxes are raised by the State, and Customs and Tributes of various kinds justly imposed by the Government, in order to defray the publick Expences and to pay the publick Officers; so it seems reasonable

*Of Publick Teachers.*      Sect. 3.

At those publick Officers who are appointed to instruct the People in the Knowledge of the Laws of the Land, and in the Knowledge of these Vertues and Vices which affect the Civil Society, as well as in the Knowledge of God who will punish secret Wickedness, and in the Sacredness and Solemnity of an Oath, which is the Bond of Government, nay, it is reasonable that these publick Teachers should be paid or supported out of the *Civil List*, if I may so express it, or the Tax or Contribute raised for the support of Civil Government, since the Support and Peace of Civil Government so much depends upon

And perhaps we might venture so far as to say that the Preachers of natural Religion are all the more necessary and obvious Doc-

Sect. 4. *The People's Attendance, &c.* 29

trines and Duties of it, which have so evident a Connexion with the Civil Prosperity and Welfare of the State, may be lawfully maintain'd by the Government out of the national Tribute appointed to supply the Civil List; but I affirm it not at present.



S E C T. IV.

*Of the People's Attendance on these Publick Teachers.*

I. **N**OW a *Question* arises here, if there are publick Officers appointed to teach the Laws of the Land, and also to teach the Things that relate to the Knowledge of the true God, the Religion of an Oath, and those Vertues and Vices which concern the Civil Interests of the Society, may not the supreme Power likewise oblige the People at certain seasons to come and attend the Lectures of these publick Teachers, supposing that these Times and Seasons are so wisely adjusted as not to interfere with the Civil Interests of Mankind or of that Nation?





**Sect. 4. on these Publick Lectures. 31**

ments, or to obstruct or prevent or too much curtail and diminish religious Services, or the necessary Duties wherein Conscience obliges each of them to pay special Honors to the God they profess; of which hereafter.

IV. 'Tis granted indeed, that the *Jews* so long as they were a Nation under a distinct Government of their own, were actually under a *Theocracy*; God was their political Head and their King; and therefore the Civil and the Religious Concerns of that Nation were more intermingled one with another in the same Pages of the Bible; and the religious Observation of certain Days and Times was appointed by God, as the particular Governor of that Land as well as the universal Lord of Conscience; which Land was not very large in its whole extent. But these Peculiarities of Government cannot be apply'd to any other Nation or People whatsoever; nor even to the *Jews* at present, who are now no united Nation, but are abandon'd by God their King to be a scatter'd People throughout the Earth. Tho' nothing can be inferr'd from the special Laws of the *Jews* about Days appointed for publick Worship under severe Penalties, which would justify other Magistrates in enacting such Laws, yet the



very cautious in appointing Penalties, tho' a Law has but small force without them.

VI. But it will be objected here in opposition to any such Penalties; since God only is the Lord of Conscience, no Government has any Right or Authority to impose any thing on the Consciences of its Subjects, which they solemnly declare or swear they believe to be unlawful or offensive to God, (as shall be more particularly shewn afterwards) suppose then any Persons should pretend their Conscience does not permit them to attend upon these establish'd moral Lectures of the Veneration due to a God, and the various Civil Duties to Men on those Days or at those Seasons that are appointed by the State for these Lectures: as for instance, suppose a *Christian* in a *Turkish* Country be appointed to attend on these publick Lectures on the *Lord's Day* or *Sunday* which he accounts sacred; or suppose a *Jew* should be required to give his attention to them on a *Saturday*, which is his Sabbath; would not this be a Violation of the Rights of Conscience, if this attendance on these establish'd Lectures were imposed with a Penalty?


I must answer still, that Conscience in things relating to God must not be imposed

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upon,

tion from the Government, upon the Allegiance of its Parents; and to enjoy all those Privileges which a Minor is capable of.

III. But what if we should suppose this Membership arising from his Parents, together with the Privileges thereof should cease when he arrives at age? I enquire then, whether it may not be a very proper thing that every Person or at least every Man, at the age of twenty-one Years should in some Court of Justice or before some Magistrate be required by Law to declare or profess this his Veneration of a God, and his obedient Regard to these Moral and Civil Laws, (which is supposed he has learnt in the great and general Articles of them) so far as they are consistent with his Duty to God; and this in order to become a personal Partaker of the Privileges of the Government for the rest of his Life, and to be made a complete Man.



Sect. 5. *Qualifications of Subjects.* 37  
thority of Men in Civil Government cannot  
reach \*.



## S E C T. V.

*The Qualifications of complete Subjects of the  
State, and of the Magistrates thereof.*

I. **T**HUS far then we have proceeded,  
and it appears that the knowledge  
of a God, and of the Duty of Obedience to  
Governors in Civil Things according to the  
Laws of the Land, together with moral Du-  
ties that are necessary to the Welfare of the  
Community and the Support of Govern-  
ment, ought to be taught to all the People,  
and I think the People ought to attend and  
learn something of them.

II. It must be always granted and allow'd  
in all Governments, that during the State of  
Infancy or Minority every Person born in  
the Nation, and especially every Child of a  
Member of the Community, is to be esteem'd  
so far a Member of it, as to receive Protec-  
tion

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\* Note, this Section as well as this whole Treatise was  
written a long time before the Act about reading the Law  
made against the Murderers of Captain *Porteous* in *Scotland*  
was framed or thought of.

o      *Of Publick Worship on the*      Sect. 6.

into the speculative Opinions of Men and their peculiar Formalities of Worship, in order to judge whether they should be made Officers in the State?

V. Would there also be any unreasonable Hardship or any Inconvenience in it, if such

Civil Officer who is found guilty of the publick Violation of the Civil or Moral Laws of the State, should be exposed to a double Penalty upon the Transgression of any of these Moral or Civil Laws? Or sometimes perhaps, if the Penalty be a Fine, may it not be made tenfold or more according to the Quality or Character of such an Offender? Would not this be a more powerful means of keeping both Magistrates and People within the Rules of Virtue and publick Safety?

**Sect. 6. Principles of Natural Religion.** 41  
*of Religion* to be perform'd toward him be-  
sides the Religion of an *Oath*.

It comes now to be inquired, whether the Acknowledgement of a God in a sufficient manner to answer the Purposes of Civil Government, does not also imply and demand some publick Veneration or Worship to be paid to him at certain Seasons, that the World may see, as far as outward Actions can manifest it, that we believe and reverence a Divine Power? This was supposed to be so necessary to the Establishment of a State upon proper Foundations, that Mr. *Locke*, that great Patron of Liberty, in the Laws which he drew up for *Carolina*, appointed, that no Man should have any Estate or Habitation in it that does not acknowledge a God, and that this God is publickly and solemnly to be worshipped. *Article 95.*

II. Now the most natural, obvious and necessary Parts of Worship are Praise and Adoration of this God, on account of his Powers and Perfections, the Invocation of him by Prayer for the Blessings we stand in need of, and Thanksgiving for the Blessings we have receiv'd, acknowledging all that we have, even our Being and our Comforts, to be deriv'd originally from him.

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III.





**Sect. 6. Principles of Natural Religion. 43**

may be several Sects in the Nation who may think it necessary to worship him with the Addition or Mixture of their peculiar Rites and Ceremonies, which they suppose Divine, whenever they come before him; and therefore they should never be compell'd to attend this natural Worship. *Christians* would say, they are particularly requir'd to worship the *true God* in the Name and by the Mediation of *Jesus Christ*, according as our Lord has taught them. John xiv. 6. *No Man cometh to the Father but by me.* John xvi. 24. *Hitherto ye have asked nothing in my Name, ask and ye shall receive.* And St. Paul tells us, that *whatever we do*, (and especially in Divine Worship, of which he is there speaking;) *it should be all in the Name of Christ.* Col. iii. 17. *Whatsoever ye do in Word or Deed, do all in the Name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him.* Now a *Christian* may think it unlawful to come and worship even the *One true God* together with the *Deists*, and to join with them in those Prayers and Praises which are not offer'd in the Name of *Christ* or by his Mediation, and therefore he should never be constrain'd to attend this Natural Worship by any Penalty.



**SECT. 6. Principles of Natural Religion. 45**

VIII. If this might be allow'd, there would be then indeed a sort of natural Religion (which is the Foundation of all true reveal'd Religion) which might be taught universally to all the People, which might be practis'd and established thro' the Nation, and perhaps be supported by the State; But still I fear the universal Attendance on this Worship could not be commanded under any Penalty, because all *Christian* People will not or cannot satisfy their Consciences with the *Salvo* propos'd; and perhaps other Sects may dislike it too upon the same Foundation,

IX. And besides, many Persons may find their Consciences dissatisfy'd with the Men whom the State shall choose to offer up their social Worship to God; they may be dissatisfy'd with other Expressions or other Omissions in the publick Worship or in the appointed Forms thereof, besides those which I have mention'd; they may be also dissatisfy'd to have Communion in Worship with a Congregation of *Deists*, or with mere *Unitarian* Worshipers, if they profess the Holy Scripture and the Trinity. Many Sects may declare their Consciences are really dissatisfy'd with this Worship, because all Men are bound to offer their best unto God, and they would

who is the original Author and supreme Guardian of the natural Rights of his Creatures: nor will any wise and righteous Government indulge such mischievous pretences of Conscience or Divine Revelation, tho' in any other Case I see not that any Governors have a Right to forbid it.

III. The Great God who gave us all Reason and Conscience, never appointed the Conscience, nor the Reason, nor the Will of one Man absolutely to appoint the Religious Duties of another; except always in case of Infancy, where Conscience or Reason is not grown up to its proper Exercise, and Parents are intrusted with the Education and the Religion of their Children till they can learn for themselves the Knowledge of God and their Duty to him.

IV. Where Persons therefore profess the Obligations of Conscience to any reveal'd Religion, and claim the Right of Worship which arises thence, it must always be granted; but still with this *Proviso*, as was said before, that none of these Pretences to Divine Revelation, none of these peculiar Forms or Practices to which Men are bound by their Consciences, be inconsistent with the Peace of the State, the Welfare of their Neighbors, and the Support of the Civil Government: for it is not to be supposed that the Great God would ever reveal and appoint any thing to be believed or practis'd as a matter of Religion, by Creatures who must dwell under some Civil Government, which should be inconsistent with Civil Government itself or the common and social Welfare of Mankind.

For this very Reason it is that no Religion hath a Right to be tolerated which professes and maintains the Persecution of other Religions, or which binds down Persons under Penalties to act in the things of God contrary to their Consciences; because this is injurious to Mankind in general, and invades the just and natural Liberties of Men, and thereby breaks in upon the Peace of the State.

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And for the same Reason no Person, whatever Religion he professes, can claim Toleration for himself in the Practice of it, who asserts and maintains a Right to persecute other Religions besides his own: such a Person is a common Nuisance to a State, for his Principles are inconsistent with the Peace of Civil Society: and besides, what Reason can he have to claim that Toleration for himself which he refuses to others?

V. Where particular Persons of the same Religion shall unite in Societies for religious Purposes, with this *Proviso* of the Safety of the State, there the State has not only no Right nor Authority to forbid them, but the Rulers of the State are obliged to guard and protect them from Insults and Injuries in the Enjoyment of all their natural Liberties and Inalienable Rights of Conscience, and

**Sect. 7.** *suppos'd to be revealed.* 51

by our Savior, *Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.* The Peace of the State and its Civil Welfare belongs to *Cæsar*, and he is to be honor'd and supported by proper Tribute for this Purpose; but Conscience belongs only to *God*, and no *Cæsar* on Earth hath any Right to invade it.

VI. Nor has any Civil Ruler whatsoever any Right to require or command the People to profess and practise that Peculiar Religion which he professes under any Penalties, because the Peculiarities of this or of any other Sect of Religion are not necessary for the Good of the State. A Man may be in all respects as useful and valuable a Member and Supporter of the State, tho' he profess and practise such a peculiar Religion as is very different from what the Rulers profess or practise, and in some respects perhaps contrary to it.

VII. Whatsoever Sects or Societies of Men agree together in any of these supposed reveal'd Religions, or any religious Ceremonies, Forms or Practices, which their Consciences think necessary, they must agree also upon particular *Times* and *Places* for their peculiar Exercises of publick Worship; and





one or other worshipping Society; I beg leave indeed to query, whether seventeen Years are an Age of sufficient Discretion for every young Person to determine that Point. Perhaps the Age of one and twenty may be early enough.

IX. As *Places* must be agreed upon for social Worship, so also must the *Time*. Now suppose the *Time* which some particular *Sects* agree upon for their Exercises of Religion are believed by them to be made sacred for Worship by divine Appointment, such as *Friday* of the *Turks*, *Saturday* of the *Jews*, and *Sunday* of the *Christians*; and suppose these very Days or part of these Days should be appointed by the State for some Civil Purposes; as for instance, if in a *Heathen* or a *Turkish* Government the People should be required to appear at a publick Market, or at a Court of Justice for Witnesses or Jurymen, or for a publick Taxation, or for Exercise of the Militia on a *Saturday* or *Sunday*, surely I think the State could not be censur'd and made criminal for appointing such a Day for these Purposes, unless they did it on purpose to distress any of their Subjects \*. But  
what

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\* I think the State could not be made criminal for appointing such a Day for Civil Affairs, which some or other

What must a *Jew* or a *Christian* do in such a Case? or what Penalties may the State enact for the neglect of Obedience to this Law?

X. I answer in the *first* place, that if the thing required be an Action really and plainly necessary for the present and immediate Welfare and Preservation of the State or Country, the *Jew* or the *Christian* might innocently comply with the Call of the State in a *Christian* or in a *Jewish* Country, and then 'tis certainly lawful to do the same in *Turkey*; as for instance, the repelling of an Invasion, the stopping of a general Inundation, the quenching of Fire, and the Preservation of Lives from imminent Destruction. This is allow'd on all hands, and is not esteem'd a criminal Prophanation of Sacred Time.

XI. But if the Case be such, that

which are not necessary at that particular time, and which in their opinion would criminally prophane the Days that the *Jews* or *Christians* call *Holy*; then it seems proper and necessary that the *Jew* should preserve his *Saturday* as well as the *Christian* his *Sunday* sacred for Rest and divine Worship, as preferring *Obedience to God rather than Men*: and I think he must consequently submit to such Penalties as the State thinks necessary for the publick Welfare. I see not how this can be avoided. The State must be the Judge.

XII. The State therefore in such Cases, as I said before, ought to injoin no other Penalty for such Neglects, than a wise and tender Father would impose upon a Child who loves and honours him, when he is constrain'd to neglect some part of his Father's Commands in order to obey God and his Conscience: And the Penalty or Forfeit of each Man for neglect in such a Case must necessarily be small, when it is measured by and adjusted to the Detriment which it is supposed the State may receive from each single Person's absence or neglect of the required Hour and Civil Service appointed by the State. Or if the Penalty should be reduced a little below the Detriment

ment the State can be supposed to sustain by the Neglect, I think it would not be amiss, since 'tis an Expression of Tenderneſs to the Conſciences of good Men, who are in all other reſpects faithful and obedient to the State.

XIII. And after all, every private Perſon muſt be left to his own Conſcience, to judge or determine how far the Action required by the State would prophane the Day which he calls ſacred, and whether God calls him to comply with the Orders of State, or to reſuſe it, and ſubmit to the Penalty: Always ſuppoſing that the *Chriſtian* ſhould not intirely neglect the publick Worſhip of God on a *Sunday* nor the *Jew* on a *Saturday*; but as far as poſſible, ſhould chuſe thoſe Hours for the Worſhip of God, which are beſt ſuited

Sect. 7. *suppos'd to be revealed.* 57

because the Church of *Christ* being to be raised up in all Nations, the Consciences of young *Christians* might be put under too severe a Bondage in some places, where the Demands of the State might greatly interfere with the Religion of the *Sunday*; especially if the peculiar Obligations to keep the Day were so very strict, and the Prohibitions were so severe as was injoin'd to the *Jews*.

XV: Yet still I think it must be granted, if we would keep up any serious Sense of Religion and the Returns of publick Worship, one Day in seven is little enough in general to be devoted to that Purpose, which both the *Jews* and *Christians* believe to be divinely appointed.



## S E C T. VIII.

*Of a Particular Religion profess'd by the  
Ruling Powers.*

I. **A** Nother *Question* arises here. If the supreme Power of the State or Civil Government professes some particular reveal'd Religion, or worships the Great God

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Sect. 8. *profess'd by the Rulers.* §9

Terror of Men is not hearty and voluntary, and therefore 'tis not Religion, and can never be pleasing to the Great God.

III. But I cannot yet see any sufficient Reason why a State should appoint the Peculiarities of any reveal'd Religion or the special Rites and Ceremonies of any particular Worshippers, or the Men who celebrate them to be supported at the publick Charge: for these Peculiarities are not necessary to the Preservation of the State, nor to the common outward Civil Welfare of a People; and I think the Power of the Magistrate reaches no further.

Nor will I venture to say that Taxes or Tenths or Twelfths or any Subsidy should be raised by the State for any other end than the Civil Welfare of the State requires. If a *Heathen* Prince impose a Tenth Penny as a Tax to maintain *Heathen* Worship, would a *Christian* willingly pay it, and think himself bound in Conscience to do it?

Is not this evidently the Reason why the People called *Quakers* in our Nation at home or abroad, refuse to pay the Tythes to the Clergy of the Church of *England*, or of other *Christian* Churches, because they preach and practise many things in Religion which the





kind should ever be imposed on the People in order to encourage and maintain the peculiar Ceremonies or Sacrifices, Preachings or Ministrations of any suppos'd Religion beyond what is natural or what is necessary for the State. Such Taxes may perhaps with as much Justice be imposed to maintain any other expensive and capricious Humors of a Prince, which have no relation to the Civil Welfare or to Religion.

And besides, this Imposition of such a Tax might give a disgust to some of the People who profess a very different Religion, and hinder or discourage them from coming to hear the Laws of the Land and Lectures of Moral Vertue which the State requires to be publish'd and taught at that Time and in that Place. Would not a *Christian* Subject under a *Pagan* or *Mabometan* Prince think it hard to be required to hear Lectures of the *Alcoran*, and of *Mabomet's* Follies, or of the Reveries of the *Heathen* Priests and Poets, of *Mars*, *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, *Diana*, &c. from Week to Week instead of Moral or Civil Laws? and perhaps their Consciences might be much offended at it, and they might be tempted to neglect their Attendance on and Acquaintance with the Civil and Moral Laws,







**Se<sup>ct</sup>. 8.     *profess'd by the Rulers.*     65**

the State suffer no Detriment, but have a full Allowance made for them.

In the same manner we may reason about the Expences employ'd in Buildings, Paintings, Mathematic Sciences or any of his own Curiosities, or for the Support of his own peculiar Religion. If he maintain the necessary Officers of the State in proper Dignity, and keep up the necessary Honors of his own Court and Household as the Dignity of his Post requires, he has a liberty to save more Money by Prudence and Thriftiness for any lawful Diversions, or Buildings, or Philosophical Experiments, or the Practice and Propagation of his own Religion, &c. I say, he may save so much more of his Revenue for such Purposes and Practices, than if these Civil Expences were distinctly settled and limited by distinct Parts of the Revenue appropriated to each.

X. But if many of the People should be of a different Sect, and should find that the Prince saves and withholds too much Money from the Uses of the State and his publick Honor, and that he expends too much upon the Practice and Propagation of a Religion which they disapprove, 'tis possible they may grow uneasy and murmur at the Largeness of



Land, and this would be some sort of *establish'd Religion*.

II. I enquire here then in the first place, whether the supreme Power or Powers or Legislators of the State may not make Laws which shall constitute and require the Religion which he or they profess, to be practised by all who are admitted to the Civil and Military Offices thereof; and whether such a Law may not rightfully exclude all Persons who refuse to comply with this Religion. The Reason given for it is this; Surely every Master in a Family may refuse to take any Servant who is not qualify'd as he requires; as for instance, one who does not believe the Bible, one who cannot speak *French* or *Dutch*; one who is not willing to wear his Livery, or who scruples to take an Oath. Here is no Injury done to any Person whatsoever; for no Man has a Right to come into another Man's House or Family and be made his Servant or to enjoy any Post in his Household, but by his Appointment or Order. Now Military and Civil Officers in the State are but as Servants in a great Family; and no hurt is done to any Subject in their Natural or Civil Rights or Properties, if they are constantly continued as Subjects under





**Sect. 9. *among Rulers and Officers.* 69**

reasonable or just that a Capacity of Preference should be taken from him by Law, but for some Civil Crime or Misdemeanor, because such an Incapacity fixed by Law is a publick Reproach or Civil Punishment.

IV. I answer in the second Place, That it is possible the supreme ruling Power may at present profess a different Religion from almost all the People, or may fall into such Sentiments, and then surely it doth not seem to be reasonable or fair to confine all inferior Magistrates or Officers to the Religion of the supreme Ruler, and to forbid the People ever to have any ruling Officer among them who is of their own Religion, or to bind down all the Officers (who must keep the People under due Regulation and Observance of the Laws) to a peculiar Religion which the bulk of the People dislike and perhaps abhor. Would not this universal Separation and Opposition of Religions probably beget such a Strangeness and Ill-will between the Rulers and the Ruled, as might in a great measure endanger those Bonds of Union and Love and mutual good Offices, which should be always reciprocally maintain'd between the Rulers and the Ruled? Would it not tend to provoke the People to Sedition, and can  
it







And who knows what further Views may arise in the Minds of the ruling Powers thro' longer Observation and Experience, which may shew them how reasonable it is to repeal Laws that have been formerly made, tho' at that time they might generally be thought necessary. Surely it can be no piece of Wisdom for a Person or a Family or a Kingdom by any present Resolution or Law to preclude themselves and their Posterity for ever from all possible Advantages that might arise from the Change or Repeal of it in future times.

VII. In the *last* Place I would make the Supposition that the present Religion both of Prince and People is *Heathen Idolatry*, and then I would make these few Queries following: *viz.*

(I.) If such a Law had been made in every Nation in the Days of *Heathenism*, to exclude all but *Heathens* and *Idolaters* from publick Posts, I query whether the Government of all the *European* as well as *Eastern* Nations must not have continued for ever *Heathen*? And whether any secular Power or Government in *Europe* could ever have regularly become *Christian*? Now surely it would be hard to say, that that could have been an equitable Law which should for ever exclude



**Sect. 9. among Rulers and Officers. 75**

because their *Heathen* Ancestors once made such a Law? Surely the very Light of Nature teaches us that the Prince and the People may join to reverse such a Law whenever they feel the Mischief and Slavery that attends it; and would they be wise, to try the same Experiment again when they have once felt the Inconvenience and Bondage of it?

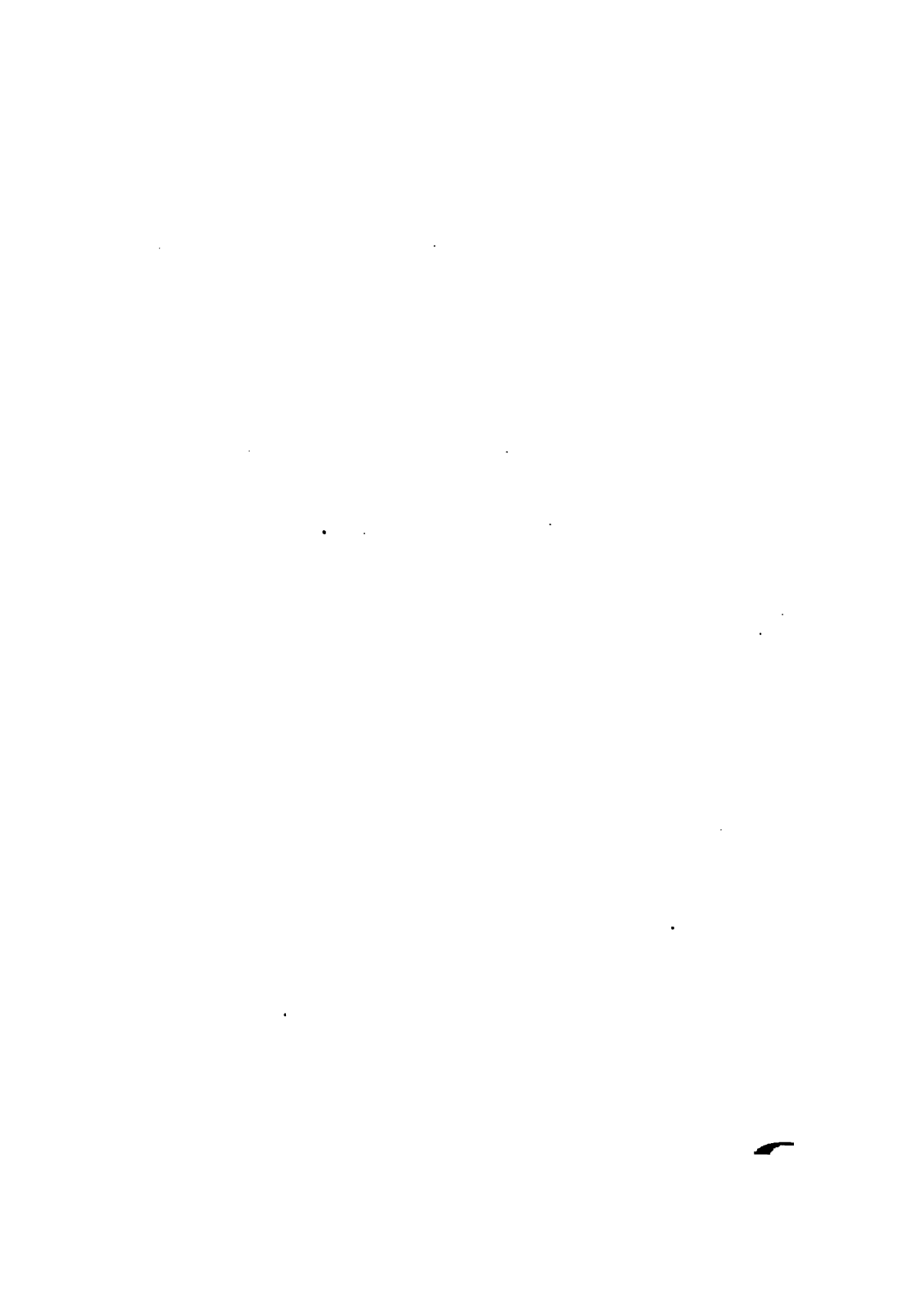
(3.) May not some excellent Persons be found who are fit for any Post or Office in the Government, whether supreme or subordinate, who may profess the Gospel of *Christ*, and thus differ from the *Heathen* Religion which is establish'd by this Law? Persons I say, whom the People themselves would wish to be their Rulers and Governors, and Persons who by the Constitution have as much Right to it as any others, excepting only their peculiar Religion.

In an *Elective* Government why should the People be forbid to chuse such supreme Governors among them only because they are *Christians*? And why should the supreme Power in any Kingdom or Government whatsoever, be forbid to make the fittest Persons he can find, Officers in the Army and the State meerly because they are *Christians*? Or if particular Cities or Towns or



Counties have a Right by the Constitution to chuse their own Magistrates or Officers, why should they be hindred from enjoying the Benefit of such Magistrates as are suppos'd to be wisest and fittest, meerly because they profess *Christianity*? Can this be for the Welfare of the State which the Rulers and the Ruled are all bound to consult? Can it be any advantage to a State to have worse Officers chosen into any Post, supreme or subordinate, and to have much fitter Persons rejected, and that meerly because they hold some *Christian* Opinions and Practices, which have nothing to do with the State any further than to teach and incline all Men in all Stations to make Mankind more safe and happy?

VIII. Thus far may be argued if the Re-





of the Prince, and the Civil or Religious Liberties, the Property and Welfare of the People.

Thence I would take leave to enquire whether or no the *Papish* Religion by its persecuting and bloody Principles, as well as by its Subjection to a foreign Potentate or Prince even the Pope of *Rome*, who pretends to absolve Men from the most solemn and sacred Bonds; I say, whether this *Roman* Religion has not made it effectually appear that neither Princes nor People can be safe where-soever the *Papists* have Power: for I take all those Principles of Religion which allow the deposing of Kings and the persecuting of People meerly on account of Religion to be unjust in themselves and inconsistent with the Welfare of any State; and consequently I query whether any wise State should ever admit of such Rulers or Officers in any Post whatsoever of high or low Degree, unless they can first clear themselves from these wicked Principles.

XII. In the *second* Place, I enquire whether Persons whose Religion will not permit them to give effectual Security of their Allegiance to their Superiors in the Government, or Security to the People of their Protection,

to *Of a Religion establish'd, &c.* Sect. 9.  
I say, whether Persons of such a Religion as  
indulges Men in the Violation of all such  
Bonds of Security, can be safely admitted to  
be supreme or subordinate Officers in any  
state: for such Officers cannot faithfully sti-  
pulate or contract with their Prince to serve  
him; nor can Rulers or Princes of such a  
Religion stipulate with their People to be  
faithful in their Office: nor do I see any way  
how such a Religion can effectually secure  
the distinct Rights either of People or Prince,  
unless this part of it be absolutely and effec-  
tually renounced.

XIII. And indeed, as I have hinted be-  
fore, such Persons among the People who  
cannot engage by Bonds laid upon Conscience  
for their Allegiance and Faithfulness to any  
Civil Government, or who think their Re-

is in short, which allows no mutual Security in Civil Government, which in general is an Ordinance of God for the Good of Mankind.



S E C T. X.

*Of the Power of the Prince in every worshipping Assembly.*

I. **T**HOUGH the supreme Power of any State has no right to impose the Profession or Practice of any one peculiar Religion upon the People, yet since Civil Government is an Ordinance of God as the God of Nature for the Welfare of Mankind, the supreme Power in any Nation may possibly have a Right to command several things to be done in every Assembly that meets for divine Worship: as,

II. (1.) I think they may give it in charge to every Religious Society, as they are Members of the State, that sometimes at least and upon proper occasions they should preach up Moral Duties to Men as well as the Duties of Piety towards God; that they should teach Men to be honest and faithful, to be

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kind

*Of the Power of Rulers* Sect. 10.

compassionate, to be sober and temperate, to be dutiful to their Civil Government, in all those things which the Civil Law have a Right to demand, and that they should preach against personal and social Slander, Theft, Adultery, Drunkenness, Travelling, Murder, Cruelty, Cheating, Sedition, Tumult, Rebellion, and stirring up Animosities and Disturbances: especially where the Magistrates are such as express it) *are not a Terror to the Good, but to the Evil, and are the Ministers of God for Good.* This is the Design of the Apostle's Advice, Rom. xiii. 1—7. *Let every man be subject to the Higher Powers: for the Power resisteth the Ordinance of God: for Rulers are not a Terror to Good men, but to the Evil: wherefore ye must be subject, not only for Wrath, i. e. for Punishment, but also for Conscience-*





Prayers offer'd up for the Governors in times of Prosperity and Peace, may they not also when any Calamity or Danger attends the State or Nation, by War, Famine, Pesticence, Tumults, &c. I say, may they not at such Seasons appoint a certain Day or Hours of the Day for worshipping Assemblies each to address their God in a way of Prayer, that these Dangers may be prevented, or these Calamities removed? Such a Civil Appointment does not so much as pretend to make the Day sacred, and I think it cannot be reasonably scrupled by Persons of any Religion upon that account.

V. I have turn'd this Question on all sides in my Thoughts, and I cannot see any criminal Imposition upon Conscience in such Demands of the Government: for if the Day

**SECT. 10. in all worshipping Assemblies. 85**

much time as to hinder them from the Bu-  
sinesses of the Civil Life, beyond what is re-  
quired by the Necessities of the State or the  
Obligation of the People to promote the pub-  
lick Welfare.

**VI.** And if Seasons of Prayer may be com-  
manded by the Government in Cases of pub-  
lick Calamity or Danger, we may by the  
same reason conclude also, that Seasons of  
publick Thanksgiving may be appointed  
upon any national Occasion of returning  
thanks for publick Health, Peace, and Plen-  
ty, or special Deliverance from Distress or  
Danger: always provided that every religious  
Assembly worship their God in their own  
way and manner on such appointed Seasons;  
for those Actions seem to be a Part of natu-  
ral social Religion, in which the Welfare of  
the State is concern'd.

**VII.** And perhaps it may not be unlawful  
for the Civil Power to lay some Penalty upon  
those who without just Excuse wilfully and  
rebelliously refuse to do any such religious  
Services for the State in some religious As-  
sembly or other: and perhaps a heavier Pe-  
nalty may be appointed for such obstinate  
and stubborn Spirits, as will boldly transact  
any thing in publick in such a way of Sport

or











## CONCLUSION. 91

tion of peculiar Religions, may be establish'd by the State; how far some publick Worship may be requir'd in general, and especially on particular Occasions of the publick Interest of the State; and how far the People are required to pay their attendance. But I cannot find any sufficient Power in the State or Government to oblige the Nation under Penalties to any one Form of Worship. If I have in any thing exceeded the bounds of the just and reasonable Rights of Government, or too much limited the just and natural Liberties or Conscience of Mankind, either Princes or People, I shall be glad to be better inform'd in a Spirit of Meekness and Charity, which generally attends the Spirit of Wisdom and Truth.

II. The only Maxim by which I have conducted my Sentiments thro' all this Scheme is this, that the Power of Civil Government reaches no further than the Preservation of the Natural and Civil Welfare, Rights and Properties of Mankind with regard to this World, and has nothing to do with Religion further than this requires: but the special Rights of Conscience and the things of Religion, as they relate to another World, belong to God only. And the Gospel of *Christ*



## CONCLUSION.

does not pretend to erect a Kingdom of this World, and therefore it alters nothing in the Nature of Civil Government.

III. There may be many things which a zealous *Christian* Ruler might think very proper to be done for the Honor of his God and his Savior in the publick World, and in the Management of the State; and indeed he may do much for God in reforming a sinful Land; yet in the Peculiarities of *Christianity* I find nothing that can be required or imposed by Civil Authority, without intrenching upon the Rights or Liberties of Mankind: and I was not willing to indulge any thing to be imposed upon *Heathen* Subjects by *Christian* Governors, which may not also be counted reasonable and lawful for a *Heathen* Governor to impose upon *Christians*; be-

strange, or foreign Sects or Parties in Religion, where they promise and pay due Allegiance to the Rulers, support the Government, maintain the publick Peace, and molest not the State: nor do I see good reason to make any such Laws or execute any such Punishments against the peaceable Preachers of any Sect or Party, which we *Christians* should have thought unreasonable or unlawful for the Civil Powers of *Athens* to have made and executed against *St. Paul*, when in the midst of a *Heathen* Nation on *Mars-hill* he preach'd *Jesus* and the *Resurrection*. In all our Reasonings and Writings on this important Subject let us take heed to allow no such Power or Dominion to Men which would have excluded the best of Religions, that is the *Religion of Christ* out of the World.





## THE APPENDIX.

I. **T**HE foregoing Discourse was begun by tracing out the *Origin of Civil Government*, and thence inferring the several Rights and Powers of it, and enquiring how far they would reach in any of the Affairs of a religious Society, and particularly of a *Christian Church*.

Let us now take a short Survey of the O-

Nations, and preaching the Gospel wherefoever they could find opportunity, converted Multitudes of single Persons to the *Christian* Faith; these united themselves in little Societies by agreement to assemble together at certain Seasons, and worship God by the Apostles Directions thro' *Jesus Christ*.

III. In some of those same Cities wherein *Christianity* was preach'd, there were or might be also several other Societies of Men under the same Civil Government, united together by peculiar Agreements among themselves for different Purposes.

Let us now suppose for instance in the City of *Corinth* there might be a *College of Philosophers*, a *Society of Painters* or *Antiquaries*, a *Synagogue of Jews*, an *Assembly of Deists*, and a *Church of Christians*.

IV. Each of these being voluntary Societies chuse their own Presidents, Teachers, and other Officers out of their own Body as they stood in need of them, in order to regulate the Affairs of their Society: and they themselves contriv'd and agreed upon Rules and Laws for the Government of their own Society, except where their original Founder had left them certain Rules and Directions, to which they consented to submit.



determin'd by the Church itself, either the People or their Officers, and not by their Civil Governors\*.

VI. Yet still let it be remember'd that the Power of the State or the Civil Government is supreme over all these Societies and their Officers, in all things which relate to the Peace and Welfare of the Nation or the City; and none of them have any Right to do any thing contrary to the Good of the City, or the Civil Government.

As for instance, If the *Colledge of Philosophers* profess and maintain the Opinion of a publick Community of Wives, or of exposing or murdering their Children, if the *Synagogue of the Jews* should refuse to give any Pledges of their Allegiance to *Heathen* Governors, if the *Christians* should pretend that Civil Dominion is founded in divine Grace, or that the Saints should rise and take the City, or that no Faith is to be kept with Hereticks; or if *any of these Societies* should profess and maintain the Right of persecuting or punish-

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\* I have no concern here in that famous Question. Whether a *Christian* Church must be govern'd by an Episcopal Person or Bishop in the way of *Monarchy*, or by a Synod of Presbyters in a way of *Aristocracy*, or by the Voice of the People in a way of *Democracy*: but it is evident that the Civil Powers, of what Form soever they be, have no just Right or Authority to govern the Church in things sacred.



themselves, or what Flesh they shall eat; nor impose upon the *Christians* what Habits or Garments they shall wear, or what Gestures they shall use in their Preaching or Singing, or any other Parts of their Worship.

VIII. It is granted indeed that if the Necessity or Welfare of any such City or State require that foreign Silk shall not be worn, nor any foreign Paper be used, in order to encourage a national Manufacture, or that no Person shall appear without a woollen Garment upon them, to promote the Breeding of Sheep, or that Veal shall not be eaten, nor Calves be slain for a Twelvemonth, in order to maintain the Breed of Cattel after a great Murrain, &c. All these Societies ought to submit their particular Rules and their personal Liberty to these Laws of the State, and to comply with them as the State enjoins. But where the Affairs of the State do not require such Commands or Prohibitions, there these private Societies and their Actions are not to be model'd and determin'd by the meer Humor, or Caprice, or arbitrary Will of a Magistrate.

IX. Perhaps you will say, Are not Civil Magistrates to be obey'd *in omnibus licitis & honestis*, that is, in all things that are Law-







*The Appendix.*

to determine such sort of things in na-  
tural and private Life in Families, or in an-  
nual voluntary Societies, I know not what divin-  
ary human Reason they can have to claim the  
right in religious Societies or in Churches.  
They can have no such Pretence excep-  
where the People or the Laws have given them  
such a Claim. But whether such Laws are  
good and just may deserve a Debate.

XII. Let the *Christian Church* in *Corin-*  
therefore be esteem'd but as one of the re-  
of these human voluntary Societies, and  
may subsist well enough in a *Heathen* State  
if the Governors do but meerly protect the  
faithful Subjects, and do not stretch their Au-  
thority into the Affairs of Religion, which  
is beyond its proper Extent. *Gallio* the D-  
of *Achaia*, had some good notion  
Paul's time, when I





Exercises, &c. and perhaps he may procure Civil Immunities and Advantages for them, which add no Tax or Burden, or Inconvenience to the State: And he may favor the *Christian Church* or the *Jewish Synagogue* if he pleases, so far as to appoint no Civil or Military Duties at the same Hours which would interfere with *Christian* or *Jewish* Worship in the City of *Corinth*.

XVI. Thus there are some Advantages which may accrue to the *State* and some to the *Church*, whereof the chief Magistrates are Members.

But if the Advances in temporal things which the Church receives from the State be not well guarded and limited, the Church will be in danger of losing its Humility, Piety, and Purity, and the State will run a great hazard of being made meer Servants to the Church. Frequent and long Experience has taught the World this sad Truth.

XVII. *Again:* Let us make a farther Supposition that both the People and the Rulers should be so much in love with the Sentiments and Practices of the *Philosophers*, the *Deists*, or the *Christians*, as that the bulk of them should become Members of their Colleges, Societies, or Churches: still the Civil







st Period, and *become like the Chaff of a  
threshing-Floor, and the Wind carries them  
away: then shall the Kingdoms of this World  
become the Kingdom of the Lord and his Christ,  
and he shall reign for ever and ever. Rev. xi  
5. Amen.*

T H E E N D.

# T H E C O N T E N T S.

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